

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
 852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
 [412] collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
 302 an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
 period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
 Tagant and Hodh.

291 Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
 855 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
 [558] girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
 trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From
 that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while
 the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly com-
 plicated for either the boy or girl.

868 The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
 857 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
 • 857 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
 [62] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of
 this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then
 fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games
 between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet
 stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly
 speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
 869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
 camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
 Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
 [212] are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
 [145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
 291 father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
 [431] ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good ad-
 vice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

Anr'eroubou, lion
Ahar, lion
Eknissi, hedgehog /4/
Akouti, rat
Amadjour, camel
Amder', giraffe, etc.

Examples of Women's Names

Tamerouelt, hare
Tahenkatt, gazelle
Tinirt, mohr antelope
Tamer'ouant, cowrie shell
Tadar'ine, grains (of wheat, barley, etc.)

In the course of this study there will be found many proper names of men and women which might give rise to interesting comparisons with names used among other Berber tribes of North Africa.

The Tuareg child is brought up heedlessly, with the negresses' children. It is chiefly the negress who takes care of him. He lives out-of-doors, often quite naked or hardly dressed, and his body is toughened early. During the nursing period the negress makes a kind of hammock out of an old haik, the two ends of which are fastened to tree branches or to the tent pegs, and this kind of cradle is called "taoulioula" .||:|:~ (from the verb "eouilaouel" ||:|:~ , to swing).

While he is still very young, barely seven years old, the child is employed as a shepherd and acquits himself very well at his task.

Then, as soon as possible, he is perched on a mehari (racing camel), for he must know his regular mount thoroughly. Young Harendou, an orphan of the Aoulimmiden /Aulliminden/, taken in by Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal of the Ahaggar, was already an excellent meharist at the age of ten. At his side he wore a "takouba" .||:|:~ (saber) larger than himself of which he was very proud. /5/

Chapter X

Games

Children play a game with a ball, "tekerikera", $O \cdot O \cdot +$, 526
which they hit with curved sticks /20/ ("igga ten tekerikera, " 857
they hit the ball). Two camps are formed and the ball must be
made to go into the opposing camp.

But their greatest amusement is to make out of clay little 524
sticks and stones, all kinds of animals and people, which they call 532
"isounar" $O | \odot$. Thus they make a mehari with its saddle, 857
a camel with its young, a horse, etc., or they may make a mehari
with a man on it, "aknar" $O | \cdot$, or a woman in her bassour,
"taknar" $\odot | \cdot +$; here are a bride and groom. These young
sculptors, it seems, are very skillful.

Sometimes they hang a swing, "taoulioula", $|| \cdot || \cdot +$, on a 524
tree. 857



Armed Conflict between Aziouel and Tacha
(Taïtoq Tuareg) (First Stage)

846 /120 cont./ is said that a woman will never again bear children
751 if, during a delivery, she turns the foetal pouch inside out.
Another cause of sterility is being hit by the tail of a uran.

845 Deliveries generally take place very well, but there are accidents, the percentage of which is not known; either the infant dies or puerperal fever is contracted. The Tuareg are completely powerless against such accidents resulting from childbirth.

852 /121/ On the seventh day of his life, the infant receives
553 his name, the occasion for a celebration to which all the close relatives are invited. A great meal is served, followed by tendi and ilougan. It is an honor to be the godfather and to give the infant its name; this honor is paid for in gifts (atouf). When several persons are candidates for the position of being the godfather, the winner is chosen by drawing straws.

854 As do all the mothers of the world, the Tuareg woman cuddles her baby, covers it with caresses, is touched to hear it cry, and sings it to sleep: "O hare, bring slumber, my baby won't sleep." As soon as he can walk, the infant gets to know the camp; he wanders around the tents, plays with the black servants near the fire, learns to talk, and remains very attached to his mother, who, day after day, teaches him the customs. The daily observation of the customs makes the child very obedient and very respectful.

857 At about the age of five, the young imrad Targui beings
868 to follow his brothers or sisters as they tend the goats. The young nobles follow their Negro shepherd. The child thus learns to know his country, the paths, the plants, the animals, and their habits. An old servant will point to a track on the sand and say: "Here's your father's camel, and this track is that of the female camel that just gave birth."

During his comings and goings across the pastures, the desert life engraves itself on his memory. He notes the track of the gazelle on the sand and that of the cheetah in pursuit. "Look," says the old slave, "in spite of the slyness of the

857/121 cont. / cheetah, which was working forward at a crawl,
868 the gazelle sensed its presence and leaped away. Here is
where the cheetah pounced, see how deep the prints are; he
leaped five times but could not catch the gazelle, which was
a large male. "The young Targui raises his head and shows
his joy in learning that the gazelle was saved, for after his
lightninglike leaps the cheetah could not outrun the gazelle.
"But you," says the slave, "when you have a rifle, you will
approach the gazelle as the cheetah did, against the wind,
and you will not miss him.

"These pretty patterns on the dune are the work of the
khanfous. /122/ This morning he went back in his hole under
that rock. Be careful in lifting the stone, for the khanfous
often is the slave of the scorpion; it is even said that he is the
scorpion's father. Be careful when you see that track there,
it was made by the viper; let's follow it.... Here's where
it ends in that cluster of chabrok. Get a rock," the old servant
says, "I'm going to set the brush on fire." The chabrok
crackles as it blazes, and soon the hiss of the reptile is heard
as it leaves its hole, numbed. The child strikes; this is his
first hunt.

In this way the desert reveals its secrets each day. That
green line ending in a red point there on the rock is
"matarter," the poisonous lizard. He nods his head up and
down, as if he were saying a prayer to the sun. He must not
be touched, for his bite is like lightning. The large dob, covered
with scales, whose enormous tail is armed with spikes, will
be a toy for the child who catches it, provided he is not bitten,
for the dob never lets go, and the finger would have to be
amputated. If by luck the young Targui has captured a female,
he can eat her eggs, a treat for the children. "The stomach
of the dob was full of water," he remarks to his slave. "That
[225] is because it's Friday, and the dob only drinks on Friday,"
says the latter. "Even if there is no water about, even if it
doesn't rain, each Friday God sends the dob his ration. When

857/122 cont. / you want to keep a dob to play with the next day,
868 tie him with a cord, but never put him in a sack that has held
825 dates or sugar, for he would die. "

Living in constant contact with nature, the young Targui
comes to know its secrets; each of his observations teaches
him; he is curious about everything that lives and moves about
him. His slave, who follows him, protects him, and loves
him as a father, explains everything he sees with the words
and images of a simple soul, embellishing the old themes of
the country. "The black and white bird following us, flying
from rock to bush, is 'moula-moula.' You must not kill him,
because he brings good luck to those he escorts; besides, he
is a messenger -- each time he comes close to you and cheeps,
he wants /123/ to tell you a friend is coming, or warn you
about losing something, or alert you against a viper crawling
toward you. 'Moula-moula' knows all, and he tells it to men,
but you must understand his language; there are many in the
Ahaggar who understand his messages. You must learn to
speak 'moula-moula.' "

"The other day you were afraid when you heard the huff
of that big lizard you wanted to catch to play with as with a
dob; it was a uran. It has a thin tail, but it is more dangerous
than the big tail of the dob. When a uran lashes a man, the
mark stays in his flesh forever, and it is not good for a Targui
to capture a uran, for it is said that a uran was the uncle of
the first mother of the Tuareg. That is why it gets mad when
one of its own people makes fun of it. On the other hand, it
is afraid of the Negroes and runs from us, because it knows that
we eat it. Don't try to catch a uran; I once knew a Targui
who wanted to go against the custom. It was a summer day in
the middle of the Tanezrouft; he caught a uran, put a cord
around its neck, and tied it to his camel. He got down and
let go the bridle of his mount -- for what reason, I do not
know -- and at that moment the uran lashed the camel with
its tail, making it trot off at great speed. Still whipping, the

857 / 123 cont. / uran made the camel run until it fell completely
868 exhausted and refused to budge. The man almost died of
825 thirst while following the tracks of his animal. When he found
it the first thing he did, even before drinking, was to let the
uran go."

855 Upon re-entering the tent at night, tired from running
about during the day, his imagination full of his discoveries,
the child settles down in front of the fire, whose flames execute
a marvelous dance for him. His eyes close as Venus,
"she who sold her father to have beauty," sinks on the horizon.

[264] This does not please the mother; the child must eat, and one
eats late in the tent, for the slaves must milk the camels and
goats before making supper. She awakens her son, draws him
to her, covering him with a dokkali to protect him from the
cool of the night, and then begins to tell tales of the past.

539 / 124 / These stories, which make up Tuareg folklore,
tend to disappear. Many young people do not know them;
one must ask the old Tuareg men, those who miss the days of
the raids, or, preferably, the women, who in all ages have
been the keepers of tradition.

Some of these stories are fables peopled by the animals
of the Ahaggar or the Sudan; sometimes they express a moral,
but that is rare. Others are amazing tales in which monsters
and genii harass men; often a hero succeeds in vanquishing
them. These stories are very long; they contain instruction
in the customs, and I think they bear a message from distant
ancestors. This message, sometimes stylized, truncated, or
embellished by the oral transmission, deserves to be studied;
in order to do this, as many as possible of these tales should be
collected before they are forgotten.

Here is the story of the jackal and the dob, as it was told
to me by one of my pupils, a Targui of noble stock.

539 /137 cont. / under the eyes of the bandits, who regarded with stupefaction the man who, having hewn a piece out of the mountain, defied them from the vantage point of the breach.

Thus ends this story of Elias. Others concerning this hero must exist, but they are buried in men's memories.

[823] One may still admire Elias' exploit: the breach in the Adriane is a landmark of Tamanrasset, and the boulder that was hewn from the mountain rests eight kilometers from there in the In-Zaouen wadi, where it has remained planted, a reminder of the hero's valor.

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304 Thus, observing nature, listening to the old stories, the young Targui grows up and forms his opinion. At the age of six or seven years, he undergoes circumcision: "agadam." The relatives gather for a big meal on this occasion.

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868 From the women, the young boy learns to sew cloth and leather. He makes toys from old rags; these are usually camels in stylized forms, sometimes having real artistic value. Toy in hand, he races with his comrades to see whose camel is the swiftest. Girls and boys alike make dolls dressed in the Tuareg style; they play camp, paying visits, drinking tea, and striking camp. The young boys carve greatly stylized camels on flat stones or on goat jawbones cut in two.

A favorite amusement consists in mounting an ass and making it gallop, which is not accomplished without numerous falls in the beginning. However, it is the camel which haunts the child; his father has /138/ already let him ride for a circle around the camp, but the little boy wants to be master of his own mount, to guide it across the fallen rocks of the nearby mountain, then to break into a fast trot on the plateau bordering the wadi but not beyond, for he would be seen from the camp and would risk a severe scolding for having taken a camel to amuse himself. Nevertheless, his parents know how it is, for they did the same thing themselves when they were young, but the "canoun" must be applied.

857 /138 cont./ When, by chance, the camp is near a guelta, the child may frolic in the water, the favorite summer sport.

857 If two large camps are near each other, joint games very soon are organized. Sometimes a kind of hockey is played 526 with a leather ball stuffed with goat's hair. The ball is hit with a cudgel taken from a tahla; sometimes, to the delight of the spectators, hand-to-hand fights break out, with the first of the two antagonists to fall to the ground being declared the loser. As the children get excited, veritable battles take place between the two camps; it is war. Sticks and stones enter the game; trickery and force are used. The battle stops at night or when the first child is hurt, but custom requires that nothing be said to the parents, above all nothing of the origin of an injury; the child who did that would lose his honor, and parents are so slow to understand!

857 The little girl prepares for her task as mistress of the house at the side of her mother. She sews in collaboration with the 868 women, who never work individually. She is taught how to cut fine leather thongs and how to plait them; while she works she is taught the traditions of which she must be the fierce guardian later on, as she often will have to recall them to the men, who, always on the move, have a tendency, through lack of use, to forget the true Tuareg "canouns."

868 During their play, the children learn tiffinagh writing from the older ones; they trace words in the sand, then phrases. But it is in the evening before bed that their mother will give more precise lessons in spelling the words they have acquired. Thus, gradually, /139/ the child learns to read and write his language; he will never have great facility in it, but that is due to the difficulty of the method of writing.

868 Every Targui knows the mnemonic aid for remembering the letters of the tiffinagh alphabet; it is the following phrase: 211 "Fatimata oult Oghanis, tagueltenit mraou issen edssedis; tedjehenet ouart thouadia," which may be translated: "Fatimata, daughter of Oghanis, whose bride price (to be paid) is 16

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44. An infant Targui plays among the Dag Rali.

[p. 232]

233 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for
 583 brothers and sisters-in-law.
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233 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman
 436 permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a
 593 woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to
 431 her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children
 544 to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery
 644 is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer; while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However,
 643 these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukul*.
 183 For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the
 payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same
 233 a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred
 436 camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels
 682 to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours
 as follows:—

Age	Colour
10 <i>tilgād</i> , or <i>chēt awēlay</i> (one year old)	10 <i>tibeydegin</i> (white)
10 <i>tilusin</i> (2 years old)	10 <i>tittarin</i> (mahogany)
10 <i>tekkenisfaulen</i> (3 years old)	10 <i>tizeggerin</i> (reddish)
10 <i>tiruyar</i> (4 years old)	10 <i>tibhawin</i> (reddish brown)
10 <i>chēt exsin</i> (5 years old)	10 <i>tilemlarin</i> (grey)
10 <i>chēt okkoz</i> (6 years old)	10 <i>tizerifin</i> (metallic grey)
10 <i>timessedas</i> (7 years old)	10 <i>timengelin</i> (dark grey)
10 <i>chēt tahalt</i> (8 years old)	10 <i>tikewelin</i> (black)
20 <i>tireggamin</i> (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old)	10 <i>tizerrafin</i> (piebald)
	10 <i>tiwinarin</i> (white cornea)

233 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain aesthetic value,
 822 and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours.
 * 192 This is the case with the present *Amenukul* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty
 643 camels trained for riding.

233 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd
 657 goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic
 645 animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats
 624 (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b-d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-
 232 camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or
 324 four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and
 186 all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate
 181 knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

Interest in Camels

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Fig. 80. Tuareg boy
with his toy camel of
cut stones. Ahaggar,
the Kel Ahaggar tribe.



Fig. 81. Tuareg boy
playing camel-riding on
a rock. Ahaggar, the
Kel Ahaggar tribe.

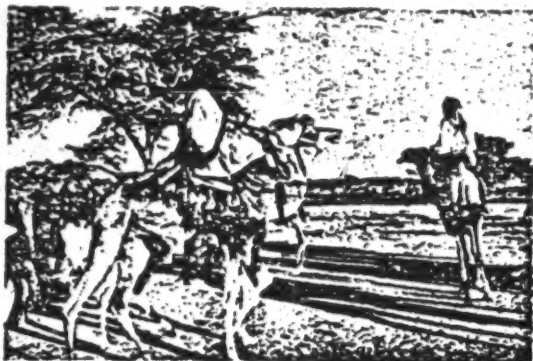


Fig. 12a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afayag* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Hywiden*.

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133 Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among *venaks* are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

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Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16-18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

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533 In a ceremonial ride termed *shagan* (*shagan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

361 akasa period when there is green annual pasture, but the large camps have no co-operative functions
 621 and no particular leader. The small camps join together to form big camps because their members
 are linked to each other by bonds of kinship, and consequently like to come together.

361 Most of the year the Ayr Tuareg live in very small camps around wells, and certain camps remain
 221 on almost the same spot throughout the year. However, most camps move about in the akasa period,
 and later, at the end of the rains, many camps move southwards and westwards to the salt plains of
 Azawag.

DIVISION OF LABOUR IN STOCK-BREEDING

462 Before we consider other activities, we shall briefly describe the division of labour in stock-breeding
 according to sex.

462 In all Tuareg groups noble women do very little work. They engage in a few very esteemed crafts
 565 such as embroidery, neat decoration of leather work, and in the north they cut ornamented milk-
 567 bowls from wood. The true domestic duties of a noble household are performed by slaves. This to
 some extent is also true of other social classes among the Northern Tuareg, while the Ayr Tuareg
 vassals have very few slaves nowadays. But even in vassal camps among the Northern Tuareg women
 have their duties and engage in all kinds of domestic work, also in stock-breeding. In the two groups
 of Northern Tuareg the division of work in stock-breeding can be seen when one enters a tent of a
 vassal camp:—

462 One half of the tent (the left part) is occupied by the woman and contains such implements as are
 connected with tanning, leather-work, cooking, butter- and cheese-making, and generally all imple-
 ments connected with the breeding of goats, sheep, and donkeys. The other half of the tent (the right
 part), occupied by the husband, contains saddles and all other objects connected with camels. The
 tending of goats, sheep, and donkeys is the task of women, while camel-breeding is the business of men.

462 Before initiation Tuareg boys may be occupied with herding goats, sheep, and donkeys, but when
 *233 they have adopted the veil they should preferably take care of camels only. There are, however, a
 567 few occasions where men engage in tasks connected with goats and donkeys:—

Goats like any other animal can be killed only by adult men, who also undertake the skinning and
 partition of the meat.

Castration of he-goats and rams may be done by men, but it is said that it is also performed by
 women.

When goats suffer from certain diseases they may in a few very special cases be taken care of by
 men. Thus when a goat has broken a leg and wooden splints are applied to the fracture this is generally
 performed by the husband of the household to which the animal belongs.

When goats and sheep are lost in the desert they may be searched for by men mounted on camels.

On the whole there are not many situations where the assistance of men is needed in tending goats
 and sheep, and most men have so little to do with goat-breeding that they do not know the exact
 meaning of many colour terms for goats.

Hunting Methods in Ayr . Bow and Arrows

167.

catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Mekkeren. The method is not used 224
for proper game animals.

(7) A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *turunt*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*tawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*turunt*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbat*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and 223
other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the 257
negroid *Imeggedezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118).

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tangak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of 262
game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *arata* lizard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzaram*, in Ayr as *emekkechchu* (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizards do not play any part to Tuareg mythology - the *arata* lizard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks, whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*afaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*rahwal* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or 262
are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is 232
very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty.

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper 411
hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not. 119

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allar*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*élek*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with this weapon.

The bow (Ahaggar, *tarayy* or *tagahhé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (Ahaggar, *imurren*, sing. *amor*, or *tinassabin*, sing. *tanassabi*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays 254
very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by

[text continues on p. 169]